

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CU-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 BIB-01 SAJ-01

EB-07 AF-06 NEA-09 /092 W

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O P 121845Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6571

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION OECD PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 484

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EEC

SUBJECT: EC SUMMIT: CSCE

SUMMARY: EC COUNTRIES ARE WILLING TO MOVE QUICKLY TO SEE IF
CSCE CAN BE TERMINATED WHILE BREZHNEV IS STILL ON THE SCENE. A
RECENT LETTER FROM BREZHNEV TO FOUR EC COUNTRIES HAS INCREASED THE
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LEVEL OF INTEREST. NEVERTHELESS, THE EC IN NOT WILLING TO

CONCLUDE CSCE UNLESS AT LEAST SOME OF REMAINING CONDITIONS ARE MET BY THE SOVIETS. EC COUNTRIES WANT TO COORDINATE WITH US ON THIS PROBLEM AND ON THE QUESTION OF A JOINT PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT. THE EC DOES NOT WANT "WESTERN SUMMIT" BEFORE CSCE, BUT IS WILLING TO CONSIDER A CSCE WRAP-UP IN NORMAL WESTERN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON MARCH 11, GOI BRIEFED US ON CSCE DISCUSSIONS AT EC SUMMIT AND IN PARALLEL INFORMAL DISCUSSION BY EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS. CONTACTS WERE NOEL DORR, IRISH POLITICAL DIRECTOR; JOHN CAMPBELL, HIS DEPUTY; AND PADDY MCKIERNAN. THEY PROVIDED TEXT OF FORMAL SUMMIT STATEMENT ON CSCE, WHICH IS BEING SENT SEPTEL. DORR WAS ABLE TO ADD CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ON BACKGROUND.

2. IN MIDDLE OF SUMMIT MEETING, WORD WAS RECEIVED OF A LETTER SENT BY BREZHNEV ON SUBJECT OF CSCE. ONLY WILSON AND GISCARD ACTUALLY RECEIVED THE LETTER, BUT IT IS APPARENTLY BEING SENT ALSO TO BONN AND ROME. ASIDE FROM THESE FOUR EC CAPITALS, PARTICIPANTS HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT ONLY WASHINGTON WOULD BE GETTING A SIMILAR LETTER. TONE OF LETTER IS REASONABLE, AND GIST OF THE MESSAGE IS THAT CSCE SHOULD MOVE TO THIRD STAGE ON ABOUT JUNE 30.

3. BREZHNEV'S LETTER AIDED THE DISCUSSION, BUT PARTICIPANTS DECIDED THAT THERE COULD BE NO COMMON REPLY, SINCE FIVE OF THE NINE WERE APPARENTLY NOT GOING TO RECEIVE THE LETTER. ALL, HOWEVER, WERE WILLING TO CONSULT ON A TACTICAL RESPONSE TO BREZHNEV'S INITIATIVE. THE STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE SUMMIT (SEPTEL) SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A FULL RESPONSE, SINCE IT WAS IN FACT DRAFTED WELL BEFORE HIS LETTER BECAME KNOWN. IT DOES, HOWEVER, ADDRESS THE SAME POINTS.

4. THE NINE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REASONED THAT BREZHNEV IS PERSONALLY COMMITTED TO DETENTE. HE IS, HOWEVER, ILL AND MAY NOT LAST MUCH BEYOND NEXT SUMMER. EC IS INCLINED TO AVAIL OF HIS PRESENCE, AND HIS PERSONAL COMMITMENT, TO COMPLETE THE CSCE EXERCISE. HIS LETTER HAS THUS "CONCENTRATED MINDS" ON THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPLETING CSCE, PERHAPS IN JULY. AT SAME TIME, THE NINE STILL THINK SOME POINTS REMAIN TO BE NEGOTIATED. THE NINE WILL NOW TAKE A NEW LOOK AT THEIR "STICKING POINTS," AND THEY MAY BE WILLING TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE. THEY ARE NOT, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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WILLING TO CAVE ENTIRELY IF THE SOVIETS REFUSE TO MOVE. THERE IS EVEN SOME REMAINING DOUBT THAT THE EXERCISE CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED, BUT MOST SHARE A "CAUTIOUS INTEREST" IN TRYING TO MOVE PROMPTLY.

5. DORR DREW OUR ATTENTION TO THE LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE CSCE STATEMENT. PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH FAVORS "AS RAPID A CONCLUSION AS POSSIBLE," BUT FINAL PARAGRAPH PLEDGES "EVERY EFFORT NECESSARY

TO OBTAIN BALANCED AND SATISFACTORY RESULTS ON ALL THE SUBJECTS OF THE AGENDA." THE EC NINE CONSIDERS THIS AN IMPORTANT CONDITION, AND ONLY IF IT IS FULFILLED WOULD IT BE "POSSIBLE TO ENVISAGE THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE AT AN EARLY DATE AND AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL."

6. AT THIS POINT, DORR SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY ASKED BY HIS COLLEAGUES TO EXPRESS ON THEIR BEHALF THE INTEREST OF THE EC IN CONSULTING WITH THE US ON THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THE LAST PART OF THE SUMMIT STATEMENT. DORR ASSUMED THAT MOST OF THE COORDINATION WOULD TAKE PLACE IN GENEVA.

7. DORR THEN SAID THAT HE HAD ALSO PASSED ON OUR INTEREST IN CONSULTING ON THE PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECTS OF THE CSCE. HIS EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES HAD GENERALLY BEEN AWARE OF THE US INTEREST AND HAD AGREED THAT CONSULTATION WAS A GOOD IDEA. THEY THOUGHT THAT CONSULTATION SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH EXISTING MECHANISMS RATHER THAN BY CREATING A SPECIAL GROUP TO CONSIDER THE SUBJECT. THEY ALSO THOUGHT THAT A WESTERN "SUMMIT" ON CSCE WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE. THE EC COUNTRIES REALIZE THAT THE SOVIETS AND EAST EUROPEANS MAY HAVE A BIG SHOW OF THEIR OWN, AND THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES MAY ALSO WISH TO FIND SOME OCCASION FOR EXPLAINING THE CSCE TO THEIR PUBLIC. THE EC, HOWEVER, DOES NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF HAVING A SPECIAL "WESTERN BLOC MEETING." SUCH A MEETING WOULD SEEM TO EQUATE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WITH THE EASTERN BLOC AND MAKE THE WHOLE EXERCISE LOOK LIKE A QUESTION OF BLOC-TO-BLOC CONFRONTATION. WESTERN CONSULTATION, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN EXISTING BODIES SUCH AS NATO AND THE EC AT ANY WESTERN WRAP-UP MIGHT ALSO BE MINISTERIAL LEVEL RATHER THAN HEADS-OF-GOVERNMENT LEVEL. THERE IS A USEFUL BIT OF SLANG FOR A WESTERN MINISTERIAL MEETING ON CSCE: "TAKING THE FAMILY PHOTOGRAPH."

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